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among them the authors of the studies collected in this book – realized that in the peculiar culture which had developed on Bali the indigenous was at least as important as the imported, and that both parties had to be heard if a proper understanding of the culture as a whole was to be obtained.

How can one catch sight of the indigenous, early Indonesian culture of the Balinese, and study its development in the course of history? Four approaches may be mentioned.

(*a*) The inscriptions provide a large number of data on the *desa*, but, as has already been pointed out, they reveal it primarily as the ruler and his officials viewed it. How certain measures were adjusted to the popular sphere, for example, to what extent they were put in practice or remained Hindu theory or the pious wish of the ruler, seldom appears. The internal life of the *desa* usually remains vague. A great deal can be derived from the inscriptions,[28] but what is derived must be tested with other data.

(*b*) Prehistoric research goes back to the age before Hinduization had taken place. Hence it is an important means of getting to know Balinese life as it was before it had come in contact with imported elements. Such research is of particular significance for our knowledge of the popular and village sphere. For the royal sphere there are fairly early written sources, as was pointed out above, so there, at a rather early date, prehistory yields to history. For the popular sphere, however – in as far as it falls outside the written evidence of the royal sphere – the prehistorical period lasted longer; sometimes (in a number of isolated mountain villages, for instance) it continued until close to the present day.

(*c*) Cultural anthropology is also of value in this connection. By means of comparison with other Indonesian regions which had little or no contact with Hinduism or Hindu-Javanism it can often be estimated what conditions, customs, and objects are general Indonesian and so may have been a part of the culture of Mayadanawa's demonic followers mentioned in the *Usana Bali* or the "vile and base-hearted ruler" of the Majapahit court chronicle. For instance, the antithesis mountainwards and seawards,

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upstream and downstream, which is fundamental to Bali's culture and religion,[29] also appears to dominate the culture of the Ngaju Dyaks of southern Borneo.[30]

(*d*) In some parts of Bali there are still many cultural forms which – partly on the basis of data provided by one or more of the disciplines mentioned – may be assumed to perpetuate much of the earliest indigenous period. In this respect a number of mountain villages which have maintained their isolation, in many cases consciously, are of importance. In the mountain village Madenan, for instance, the older tribal organization into phratries is still reflected, so Grader believes, in the classification of the members of the *desa*.[31] And according to Korn the initiation rites known to us from other parts of the archipelago can be seen glimmering through customs in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan.[32]

In making use of this last source of knowledge regarding the indigenous Balinese culture scholars must constantly keep in mind, of course, that even in such villages time has never stood still, though a comparison to more rapidly changing areas may give that impression. The situation is rather that in these communities, although they have absorbed any number of later, Hindu-Balinese elements, the trained eye of the scholar can detect what are sometimes with certainty, sometimes with more or less probability early, indigenous elements.[33] This should be kept in mind, for instance, in perusing the fascinating second chapter of the picture album *Bali: Cults and Customs*,[34] in which modern photographs from villages considered traditional are used as illustrative of "The Ancient Indigenous Phase".

Working along these lines, one can detect an important number of early, indigenous elements in present-day Balinese culture.

From prehistoric research, for example, we learn that the so-called kettle drums spring from the bronze age. The most renowned Balinese example of such a kettle drum is the approximately man-tall 'moon' in Pura Pĕnataran Sasih at Pejeng.

Another important detail is that the type and structure of the Balinese temples can most satisfactorily be explained as tracing

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back to megalithic culture. One of the scholars most at home in prehistoric Indonesia has defined the relation as follows:

> Now it is very remarkable, that the so-called Hindu temple of Bali can be traced back not to the temples of India but to the prehistoric megalithic sanctuaries. This appears at once from the fact, that in India the statue of the god is the centre of religious worship, whereas on the island Bali this is not the case. In India (and also on Hindu Java) the people worship f[or] i[nstance] the sungod Surya in the form of a statue, representing a man, sitting in a chariot drawn by seven horses. In the Balinese temples a stone seat is erected for Surya, onto which the godhead is supposed to descend in an invisible form, when the priest invokes him. As to the general form we may say, that in India and in Hindu Java the temple is a house or hall, on Bali it is a square surrounded by a wall.
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> In ancient Indonesia and in Polynesia the sanctuary was always an open space, usually surrounded by a wall and often paved with great stones. Here all religious ceremonies took place. Here the great nature gods, such as the god of the sun, of the mountains, of the sea etc. were invoked as well as the souls of the ancestors, whereupon they descended upon the megaliths which were erected for them. Sometimes these were simply upright stones, sometimes stone tables, consisting of a flat stone on top of some smaller stones, sometimes stone seats, consisting of a prostrate (female) stone and at the back as a support an erect (male) stone. These megaliths are the forerunners of the shrines which are found at the back of the last temple court of the Balinese temples; they are destined for Surya, the god of the Gunung Agung etc. In some temples up till to-day the simple megalith monuments are still found to be preserved.
>
> Ancestor worship played an important role among the ancient Indonesians. Their souls descended onto the megaliths, for example onto the stone seats. As, however, the chiefs and the oldest men of the village were supposed to represent the ancestors they had the right to sit down on these stone seats at ceremonies and meetings. In this way groups of similar seats, as still exist for example at Gèlgèl, are the prehistorical forerunners of the present-day "balé agung".
>
> In the old Polynesian sacred places there was often on one side a stepped pyramid, consisting out of two or more terraces, built out of unhewn stones and growing smaller as it rose higher. ... On Bali several places are found consisting of a square which is either enclosed or not, having one or more stepped pyramids. They probably represent the celestial mountain in the same way as the multiple roofs of the Balinese Meru's. This type of sanctuaries is found especially in villages where the Hindu influence has been less intensified and where the old animistic conceptions are still surviving.[35]